The
791 pi-mu, a Lolo magician, is invited to perform on this occasion. In every Lolo village there are always one or two families that specialize in magic, a profession hereditary from father to son for many generations. The pi-mu are outstanding personalities among the Lolo. In their houses are kept a number of Lolo scriptures for use in festivals, sickness, fortune-telling, the wedding ceremony, and all kinds of magic performances. The [212] scriptures are in the Lolo written language which survives to this day mainly because of its transmission by the pi-mu from master to pupil. The common people have no occasion to use the written language, which actually does not occupy as important a position in Lolo society as is generally believed.

When there is sickness in the family, the Lolo do not 756 depend upon medicine for a cure, but ask the pi-mu to perform magic to drive off the evil spirits. They believe that [153] sickness is caused by ghosts and goblins, and can be cured through exorcism. During the ceremony, as mentioned earlier, [782] they sacrifice victims, such as an ox, sheep, pig, or chicken, according to the nature of the sickness and the economic condition of the family. To kill cattle or chickens for [574] such an occasion provides the family with an opportunity for a big feast, which helps to vary the monotony of life and a regular vegetable diet.

[46] Praying for rain is an event of great importance. 782 Rain is scarce on the mountains where the Lolo live and cultivate their dry land. During a year of drought, they pray to the mountain spirit for rain. The Lolo do not have a monotheistic concept and believe in an unseen world where a ghost or goblin exists in every object. So they invite the pi-mu to perform magic to control the environment around them. When the Han-Chinese pray for rain, they direct their prayers to the dragon-king in the waters; the Lolo, on the other hand, notice [821] that rain comes from the mountain top and so they pray to the mountain spirit. This illustrates how religious ideas are influenced by environment. In praying for rain, they also seek the help of the pi-mu. After having killed a white sheep or a white chicken, they would go up the mountain and from the precipices scatter the blood-splattered white feathers to look like snow while the pi-mu chants the scripture and performs magic to beg for sweet rain. The rainmaking ceremony is very important because it is directly related to their economic life. Insufficient rain will affect the harvest of corn, buckwheat, oats, and other grains and result in a food shortage for the family.

000 and religion have so much in common and are so much dependent upon each other for mutual development that there is no clearcut borderline between them. But, in the two outermost limits of their common domain, there should be a well-demarcated area for either magic or religion. Otherwise, [93] we would have no way of understanding or explaining the many symbolic acts of a primitive culture.

771 In Lolo society, there are two different concepts of the physical world. The first involves the supernatural power of inanimate objects, such as stones, silver, clothes, ornaments, and others, all possessed by spirits — quite similar to the Polynesian concept of mana. The other concept involves supernatural beings that belong to animate, personified objects, such as mountain spirits and ghosts of the deceased. These two types of concepts entail different results in the process of religious development. Man's concept of the universe is derived from two different sets of analogies. The first set, which is related to the formation of supernatural power, develops from the observation of special physical traits, such as color, shape, weight, durability, and so forth, into the belief in animatism or mana. The other set of analogies develops from the observation of men's wills, inclinations, and objectives into the belief in animism or that of the spirit.

778 There are many evidences of the belief in animatism in Lolo society. As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, the use of protective charms, such as lamb's wool, tiger's whiskers, fingernails, and hair, to safeguard the fighters on the battlefield during clan feuds points to a belief in animatism. In a [768] Lolo family, personal effects left behind by the ancestors, such as clothes, ornaments, silver, utensils, and others, all become, after a period of time, chi-lo, which nobody dare disturb lest something happen to endanger the family. Chi-lo is an animatistic concept similar to mana, and it is a mistake to consider the Lolo's chi-lo as a family god. For example, the Chiang family near Huang-lang, which was a Sinicized Lolo family, had inherited from its ancestors three boxes: a box of silver, one of clothes, and one of jewelry and ornaments. One day, a niece of the Chiang family came back to visit her uncle. By accident she came upon these boxes, opened them, and took out the clothes and jewels to try on. The next day everything in the boxes had disappeared, the chi-lo having fled. Since then the Chiang family declined. So, the chi-lo of the Lolo family is a spirit, mysterious and forbidden to the touch; once disturbed, the chi-lo would run away, which would spell disaster for the family. The belief in the chi-lo, however,

778 is limited to the mysterious quality or the supernatural power of the object without involving any concept of ghosts and spirits.

[94] The belief in the souls, spirits, and ghosts is even 775 more popular and universal in Lolo society. All kinds of sick- 753 ness, death, and misfortune are due to the evil influence of the ghosts. Their names are many: ghosts of persons hanged, ghosts of dysentery, ghosts of persons murdered, su-nieh ghosts, ghosts of strangers, monkey ghosts, headache ghosts, and countless others. All ghosts and evil spirits can cause evil and bring disturbance and harm to human beings. So the Lolo are particularly afraid of the ghosts and have numerous rituals to control them. The spirits are not consistent in their good or bad behavior. Good spirits protect and aid the living, whereas bad spirits could change into ghosts to plague them. 776 After death, family ancestors change into spirits following a soul-delivery ceremony. The original ancestor of the pi-mu is also a spirit who can be invoked to descend to earth. The [782] Lolo do not make offerings to images or worship them. They have no concept of monotheism. All natural phenomena, such as sky, earth, sun, and moon, have spirits, but since these have little bearing on daily life, no ritual for their worship has evolved. The mountain spirit, called mi-hsi in the Lolo language, is comparatively the most important because it controls rain and is always invoked during rain-praying. Different mountains have different spirits who are not interrelated. The [821] Lolo belief in the mountain spirit as an agent of rain control is diametrically opposed to the Chinese belief in the dragon king as the controller of rain. This merely indicates that religious ideas are influenced by the natural environment. The Lolo who live on high mountain tops have observed that the clouds, fog, and rain all descend from the peaks.

Animatism and animism co-exist in Lolo society and ● 771 together constitute their religious thought. However, they differ in practical operation. On the one hand, magic power relies upon technical devices for its practice, and on the other the individual communicates with the supernatural world through a spiritualistic medium. The Lolo pi-mu is concurrent- 791 ly a chief priest and a magician. When he recites the scrip- 793 ture to communicate with spirits and when he officiates at 756 sacrificial ceremonies, he assumes the position of a priest and spiritual medium; when he imprecates to subdue ghosts and when he performs ceremonies to cure sickness, he becomes a magician. Actually, the main duty of a Lolo pi-mu is none other than the practice of magic.

4:Lei--15 E-5 (1939)1944 AE4 Lolo AE4

wooden spear and went to Ma-ta-po to hunt, 773
he saw sleeping under a pear tree a female monkey with the appearance of a dog. At first he was afraid and dared not approach. But seeing that she was not moving, he gathered enough courage and slowly approached her. He picked up a stone and hurled it at her. The monkey did not move. He moved close to her body and passed his hand over her. Before long their instincts were excited, their hearts united, and in that wilderness on the grass they became husband and wife. Their descendants are the Lolo. (1)

1. See my article "A Glimpse of the White Lolo on the Border between Yunnan and Kwangsi," The Travel Magazine, Vol. 18, No. 6.

This myth has clearly revealed to us 771 ●
that the original ancestor of the Lolo, 773
called "a tsa", was born from a fragrant bamboo tube. In other words the fragrant bamboo was their earliest ancestor. Afterwards "a tsa" married a dog-shaped girl sleeping under a pear tree and gave birth to the Lolo people. Therefore, they worship fragrant bamboo; the men make sacrifices with "bamboo incense urn" and the women with "dog-bamboo incense urn". (2)

2. See my article "The White Lolo in Chên-pien hsien, Kwangsi, and their Totemic Remains," Kung-yü sheng-huo, special ed., "Kwangsi Folk Customs."

771, 778 If we want to be further clarified on this point we may examine the following account of their "bamboo worship" custom derived from this story.

> Their (White Lolo) village is always characterized by a vacant lot of about twenty feet square, on which is planted a cluster of fragrant bamboo in the center. At the foot of the bamboo is laid a circle of huge rocks, each about five feet in diameter. Outside the rocks is erected a bamboo fence of more than ten feet in height. At ordinary times no one is allowed to cut the fence or otherwise damage it. But on the twenty-fourth day of the fourth moon each year according to the lunar calendar they remove the bamboo fence and erect a platform in front of the fragrant bamboo for a great sacrificial ritual. .....This cluster of divine bamboo they call "Me Wa dcc /?/", meaning fragrant bamboo incense. The vacant lot on which the bamboo is planted is known as "di ka", or the field of cultivation. They believe that the flourishing and decline of the bamboo indicate like tendencies in their tribe. Therefore, with a view to assuring the prosperity of their tribe, they constantly worship the bamboo with a devout heart and communicate with "her" through elaborate sacrificial rituals and symbolic contacts with the spiritual media. They appeal to her and promote her in order to secure the prosperity of their descendants. If not, she may wither, and danger and catastrophe will befall them and their tribe will decline and even perish. (3)

3. Same as note 1.

Comparing this account of bamboo worship by the White Lolo with the worship of the clan spirit by the Lolo of Hsü-chia-tu in Ch'êng-chiang, we can see that the latter's clan spirit on the bamboo mountain and the former's fragrant bamboo in the field of cultivation as well as the bamboo mountain and the field of cultivation themselves /36/ are all one and the same thing. 777 778

To summarize the foregoing observations it may be said that the Lolo regard the bamboo as having a blood relationship with them and even as their ancestor. Thus, it is clear why the Lolo in Ch'êng-chiang regard the "golden bamboo" as their progenitor, the bamboo stick as the retreat of their ancestral spirits, and the six bamboo sticks as their ancestors of three immediate generations. The essential point is that the bamboo represents their origin of birth as well as their destination after death. Where one comes from, there one goes; and this symbolic principle is identical with our belief that from earth man was moulded and to earth he must return after death. 771 769

IV. The Pine Grandfather

Having discussed the golden bamboo ancestor, let us now describe the tree ancestor. The trees here referred to are the pine and the pear. Generally speaking, they worship the tree ancestor even more intensely than the bamboo. There are numerous traces of the worship of the former, which can be analysed briefly as follows.

(1) The pine tree is regarded as their common forebear because they believe that there is a blood relationship between them and this tree. The pine that has been acknowledged as their original ancestor is called "a tsa po", which tallies with the "a tsa" in the creation

771 legend of the bamboo ancestor described previ-
769 ously.[1] It is similar to the idea of regarding an animal or plant species as the totemic being of a race or tribe and the belief in the blood relationship between these species and the constituent members of the tribe. As to the pear tree which is often connected with the pine and similarly worshipped, it is supposed that it has certain affinity with that pear tree under which the girl slept in the story of "a tsa".

778 (2) To the left of their village there is a
796 forest called min-chih, (people's area), in
769 which there are a few tall pine and pear trees. These are regarded as the spirits of "a tsa po". The third day of the third moon every year the elders of the village would lead all the males of the village over twelve years old to offer sacrifices to these gods. The participants each break a branch of pine or pear tree and plant it at the foot of the large pine tree. During the sacrificial ceremony girls over twelve years old are barred from witnessing it. The pine and the pear trees in the vicinity of the "people's area" are out of bounds, and those violating their sanctity and breaking even a small branch are subject to severe punishment. From this we may gather that they impart a spiritual meaning to the pine and pear trees in the "people's area".

771 (3) They call the pine ancestor "a tsa po";
769 they also call themselves in the Lolo language "a tsa po". From this similarity in the name of their tribe and that of their pine ancestor, it may be supposed that they use the pine tree as their tribal name.

Summarizing the above three points, it may be said that their custom of worshipping the pine tree is closely related to totemism.

824 Aside from the worship of plants which can
771 be traced to totemism handed down from ancient

[1] [see category 116, pp. 13-15. -- Analyst]

times, the following two other conditions may also give rise to the worship of pine and pear trees. (1) In their high mountains and deep valleys no other objects could have inspired more awe and terror than the huge, lofty, majestic pine and pear trees that arouse in them an illusion of grandeur and reverence. Sometimes these trees seem alive as the leaves rustle and the branches sway in the winds; at other times miraculous incidents occur that give them a sense of awe and worship and the belief that these are inhabited by spirits. From this belief they developed rituals of worship. (2) Occupying an area of lean earth unsuited for crops and living a hard life, they find that the pine and the pear trees are prolific in their yields as sources of timber and fuel. As main staples of wealth these play an important part in their economic life. Thus their economic necessity and the economic importance of the trees have given rise among these primitive people to the cult of plant worship. 771 824

Furthermore, totemism is at the same time a social system. In their present ancestor worship, although we discover certain traces of totemism, there are no evident signs of a social system. Therefore, whether the worship of pine and pear trees actually belongs to totemism depends upon the evidence of more reliable materials in a future study. 771

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

around were mentioned, that curses from any quarter whatever might be counteracted and sent off at a safe tangent. 789

One wishes that among these brave but superstitious hillmen some modern medical men would set to work to relieve the suffering that abounds, and lead these people out from the distressing fear of the all-powerful demon. There is a great and happy work waiting for some medical men among the hills of the independent Nosu. 000

It is strange that the belief in spiritualism is so universal all over China, whether among the Chinese proper or among the aboriginals. One often hears about the three religions of China, but the Chinese themselves sometimes speak of the four religions, and the fourth is the most powerful of all. If Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism are religions, then spiritualism is also one of the religions of these people living in China, and it holds tremendous sway. It is practically all-powerful in Nosuland; it rules among the Nosu south of the Yangtse who have submitted to the rule of the mandarins; it is very prevalent among the other tribes, and almost every Chinese family that is not Christian believes in it. 771

An attempt has been made, after the Revolution, to put down the trade of the medium, but it has not succeeded. Outside of every town and near to every big village are houses where the mediums are at the disposal of everybody who is prepared to pay for their services. They are willing to visit the other world and find out what influence in the world of shades is working against the fortunes of the inquirer. A Delphic oracle is thus brought to every door, and there are pythonesses galore at a figure within the reach of every pocket. I have watched these mediums at their work many 000

[180 cont,]

583 off his fiancée, but he must later pay a double dowry.

595 The "Lolo" generally have only a single wife.

684 Adultery is punished by death.

764 The dead "Lolo" is dressed in his finest clothes and then immediately afterwards placed on his bier. The coffin is kept for three days in the house in which the death took place. The burial is done the fourth day. Only the relatives take part in this ceremony. A fire is lighted on the grave as soon as the trench is [181] filled in. This fire is cared for by the relatives for nine days, if the deceased is a man, eight days for a woman, six days for a child. The grave then is abandoned and no one pays any further attention to it.

184 764 Some "Lolo" tribes follow slightly different customs. Among the "K'an-t'éou-lolo" ("Lolo" head-cutters), the corpses are dug up at the end of three years. The head is removed from the body and placed in a little wooden chest, which is placed in full view on a neighboring rock. (Photo 348, Plate 44, shows rocks which the inhabitants of the region call "rocks of the tombs," on which are still found heads of "K'an-t'éou-lolo" coming from a hamlet of this tribe which moved away thirty years before.) (Southwest of Pha-Long.)

Other tribes bury their dead without coffins and place upon the corpse a long, hollow, vertical piece of bamboo which sticks out on top of the mound. The relatives from time to time verify the state of decomposition of the corpse, by coming and smelling the emanations at the upper end of the bamboo. When there is no further odor, the corpse is dug up, and the bones are placed in a small chest, which is exposed as has been described above for the "K'an-t'éou."

771 177 The "Lolo" of Tonkin, properly speaking, have neither religion nor peculiar beliefs. They have adopted those of their nearest neighbors, either "Méo," "Man," or "Thai." They believe in the evil spirits but do not fear them to the same extent as do the "Thai."

769 778 They observe ancestral worship strictly enough. On the ancestral altar the dead are represented in the following manner: branches of orchids, cut to a length of seven knots for a man and

[185] The "Xa-pho"

101 The name of "Xa-pho" is used to designate rather important
131 "Lolo" tribes, numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 individuals, which
161 are settled on the right bank of the Red River in the regions of Baoha and of Coc-Leu, mixed with "Thai" and with "Nhang.

These tribes call themselves the "Lao-pa."

The "Xa-pho" are rather closely related to the "F'ou-la."
181 Even more timid than the latter, they have allowed themselves to be
648 completely dominated by the "Thai," who often treat them as veritable slaves, available to perform forced labor or to pay taxes without mercy. Moreover, the "Xa-pho" accept this inferior position, which they appear to have no desire to alter.

291 The costumes of the women resemble those of the "F'ou-la,"
531 but the jacket is shorter and it is edged by a wide band on which are embroidered lozenges filled with multicolored designs.

197 The dialect has many analogies to the "F'ou-la" dialect. The language of commerce is the "Thai" and sometimes Annamese.

177 The mores and customs of the "Xa-pho" come closer and closer to those of the "Thai" and of the "Nhang" among whom they live.
342 The cabins, which are very clean, are most frequently of the type
361 built on piles. The hamlets are not far from the rice fields, but always located on the slopes of the hillsides.

771 No more than the other "Lolo," the "Xa-pho" have neither a
769 religion nor beliefs which are well defined, beyond a vague worship rendered to their ancestors. They are very little interested in matters concerning souls and spirits.

773 They have very few legends. They appear to be totally ignorant of that of the deluge, which, nevertheless, is known, with numerous variations, by almost all of other tribes of Upper Tonkin. They have preserved one which explains in the following manner the required style of the "Lolo" jackets: The first human couple had four sons from whom are descended the four principal races of the region:

[101] The "Xa-pho" called "Lao-pa."
The "Thai" called "Gia-lo-pa."

[187 cont.]

291 part of the breast covering is attached about the belt.

3. A pantaloon of a very wide style, stopping at the knees.

4. Leggings coming up to just above the knees and often decorated with embroidery on the lower portion.

5. A headdress recalling, in its total appearance, the one we have described for the "Pa-y" women.

The hair, knotted in a very tight chignon, carries on its high-
[302] est portion a sort of rigid armature trimmed with spherical silver buttons. On top of the whole is placed a very light piece of material, of fine linen dyed dark blue, with a fringed border.

The "Ho-nhi" women have very abundant jewelry: rings,
301 bracelets, and earrings. They also have necklaces of a special design, made [188] of little round plaques of embossed silver, threaded upon a cord. Some of the women trim the front of their jackets with a row of these same small plaques.

The "Ho-nhi" cabins are rectangular and very small. The
342 walls are of mud. The straw roof comes very low down, in such a
353 way as to create all along the outside walls a wide, sheltered corridor. The hut has only one door, which opens on an interior hallway. It is divided into several compartments by light mud partitions. All its rooms open upon the interior hallway. The hall of honor contains the ancestral altar and usually is located opposite the entrance doorway. The kitchen is most frequently set up in the interior hallway in the section farthest away from the entrance doorway.

The type of life of the "Ho-nhi" is like that of all the tribes
243 that cultivate irrigated rice fields. The agricultural implements and the farming methods are in no way unusual.

The beliefs and customs are rather close to those of the "Méo."
771 Like the latter, the "Ho-nhi" love independence. Living very iso-
181 lated on their high hills, they retain great freedom of bearing and are not obsessed by a fear of evil spirits.

The "Ho-nhi" marry among themselves. The marriage proposal
58 is made by intermediaries. The wedding ceremonies present no noticeable peculiarity. As among all the other groups, they are marked by great rejoicing and substantial feasts.

101 The Ho Nhi may apparently be connected with the Lolo group
197 because of their language. There are very few of them in Tonkin,
131 and they are settled at the extreme western part of the Chinese frontier.
342 Their cabins, built on the soil itself, have roofs which come down
291 very low and mud walls. The men's clothing is of the style usual among the mountaineers and very dark blue in color. The women wear a garment of the same basic color, consisting of a long tunic whose inner skirt is raised up on the right hip, and a breast-covering, wide trousers descending to the knee, and leggings which are put on like stockings and tied up with garters. Their headdress is made by placing
[302] a dark blue kerchief over their chignon whose fringes drop to each side of the face, and they put on top of this a leather crown trimmed with little silver bells.

/150/ Section 3

Customs and Religious Ideas

771 The customs of the Lolo who have immigrated to Tonkin have not been preserved in their primitive purity and frequently are full of customs of the neighboring ethnic groups. Detailed study of them, therefore, will not be interesting from an ethnographic point of view. We shall only point out those which include some trace of characteristic mores.

[581] Customs relating to marriage are very obviously the same as among the Meo. Those relating to death have certain unusual character-
764 istics. Thus, among the Kan tao Lolo or "cutters of heads," the dead are buried without any coffins and a hollowed-out bamboo extends from the head of the corpse and comes out above ground level. When the children of the deceased think that decomposition of the corpse must be completed, they make certain by placing their nose at the upper end of the bamboo. When no further odor emanates, they proceed to exhume the head of the corpse and place it in a basket which they expose to view in their cabin. The object of this rite is the revival each day of the memory of their deceased relative.

769 The ancestors' tablet among the Lolo is made up of a paper figurine which is hung up on the partition of the cabin.

When the anniversary of a deceased relative is to be celebrated, a mannequin is constructed, stood up and dressed so as to recall the one whose memory they wish to honor. Women come to sing and

Lolo AE4
Kha AM7

weep at his feet, while men execute rhythmic dances in front of the door. They arrange themselves in Indian file, in order of age, and at the sound of the tom-tom they advance, retire, or revolve together. L 769 L 771 177

Religious ideas of the Lolo inhabiting the frontier zone of Tonkin resemble those of the Meo in whose midst they live.

The mission of Captain d'Olonne, which has just traveled throughout the /151/ whole country of the independent Lolo, will undoubtedly report interesting information on the true customs of the Lolo ethnic group. They have already informed us that this people is endowed with sufficient energy to free themselves completely from Chinese domination. This fact alone causes us to believe that their Tonkin kinsmen have degenerated, that their isolation in the midst of other populations has weakened them. L 181

Section 4

The Xa or Kha Ethnic Group

The Xa, who are called Kha in Laos, are the most miserable of all the mountaineers. Their costume is made of the same cloth as that of the Yao and consists of wide trousers for the men and a short jacket. Women wear embroidery on their garments, but they always are so dirty that the colors cannot be seen. Jewelry is of copper. Men wear neither hat nor turban. The hair simply is knotted in a filthy chignon. K 101 291

The Xa has neither writing, nor intellectual culture of any sort. To communicate with one another they are satisfied with scratching a very limited number of conventional signs on small pieces of wood or bamboo. Some Xa tribes still speak their primitive tongue which is very crude, and has the peculiarity that the "r" is rolled with a vigor recalling Malayan or Cambodian pronounciation. The Teng, for example, pronounce the words which mean "horse" and "chicken" as if they had two r's: mbrran and irr. But most of the poor Xa families who are scattered in the Tonkin mountains are so de-nationalized that they have forgotten their own tongue and now speak Tai or Annamese. K 212

The Xa dwell at the same altitude as the Yao and cultivate maize like them on steep mountain slopes. Their house is raised on piles the length of the escarpments, in such a way that the interior K [131 241] 342